I: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

inheritance are poorly formulated. The amount of inheritable goods is small, the most valuable being the trap line, but no cases of real property inheritance were recorded. Indians spoke of their children or their sons-in-law receiving a trap line but in no case had anyone attempted to make provisions for such inheritance. Since men usually take up residence at the wife's country, it is reasonably likely that inheritance would fall to either a man's daughters or to his sons-in-law. Thus, Old Man's son-in-law, upon the death of his father-in-law died, he would obtain ownership of the trap line which he was now using, after him the line would go to his brother-in-law, or preferably, to his brothers, who would then continue to support his wife. This, however, was largely wishful thinking. Old Man himself felt that his trap line should go to both his sons-in-law. His statement, however, was not invoked as a testamentary disposition, and there is no evidence for believing he was much concerned with the matter. River Joe's attitudes regarding the marital residence of his children may be recalled as pointing to one individual's desire to ensure the inheritance of his trap line by his children. Such an appreciation conforms with Old Man's readiness to have his property pass to sons-in-law and emphasizes the unformalized patterns of inheritance. It must be remembered, however, that Old Man has no sons and only a fifteen year old unmarried daughter. He also has two sons-in-law already trapping on his line, whereas three of River Joe's sons-in-law have set themselves up independently.[9]

Other goods left by a deceased are generally kept by the surviving spouse who may sell them or apportion them among her children according to sex, a woman's objects going to girls, and a man's to boys. Inherited property or disposed of includes mainly dogs, guns, traps, snowshoes, tools, jewelry, and clothing. A deceased child's possessions, including clothes, are divided among the siblings. No report was heard of disputes about inheritance.

Government

Lacking governmental institutions of their own, the Kaska Indians are subject to the Dominion Government and, depending on their location, to the local government of Yukon Territory or the Province of British Columbia. In the present section we are chiefly concerned in the Indian's relationship to these governments. We will emphasize the individual's attitudes toward federal and local authorities rather than discuss the functions of these authorities in any detail.

The Kaska Indians are, with a few exceptions, wards of the Dominion of Canada. The exceptions are the relatively few women who, having legally married white men, were enfranchised as citizens and the one or two young men who have had their names removed from the "Indian list," i.e., successfully petitioned for the status of citizenship. Such individuals often keep that they are Indians and emphasize their equal-or-white status.

In general, the people regard the administrative government, as a "boss" whose functions

[9] In a letter dated January 2, 1944, J. D. Keith, Chief Commissioner of British Columbia wrote: "Should the father of a man die without making any provision with regard to the transfer of his line, then the line shall be given automatically under usual practice to the Official Commissioner for the district, and generally such official reserves the offer and has the option transferred to a relative of the deceased Indian, or he asks the permission to sell the trap line and equipment. Where he does not choose any of the foregoing ways he usually turns the matter over to Indian Chieftains, whose duty then is to see equitable disposition following death is provided for by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, whose office is then attended.

1: Honigmann E-6 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

are modified. Thus, referring to the impending visit of the factory inspector from Whitehorse, Edward Prince also remarked that everything has a bone: "People have bone, guns have bone, even stick [that is, timber] have bone!" To understand the attitudes of the Indian toward governmental authority, the significance of that word, "bone," must be thoroughly understood.

Within the native community, no man can exercise absolute power over any other adult. Parents are "bone their children," and it is even said that a man is "bone his wife," but the authority of these roles is not arbitrary and rarely abused. Furthermore, however subtle authority has no meaning. An individual responds to the suggestions of another individual only when he stands to gain by such submission or when he cannot tactfully refuse agreement without endangering the harmony of his relationship to the other person. Obedience of an adult to the suggestions of another member of the Indian community never occurs because the suggestion possesses a status which of itself requires submission. Between Indians of equal status, that is, of relatively the same degree of maturity and of the same sex, a thorough-going leisure *laissez faire* prevails. Considered by itself, the Indian community is an anomalic society in which every adult claims autonomy and independence. For example, Old Man once sent a message to his neighbor, Louis Man, asking the latter to join him in a moose hunt. Louis went on the hunt but almost immediately decided to turn back, because he was worried about his infant son's health. When appraised of this decision, Old Man said to Louis: "It's up to you. I'm an old man and I can't see to shoot moose. I hoped we would have together but you do what's right. It's up to you." These last words, "Up to you," are frequently heard when adults discuss plans and come to a disagreement. A person with richer experience may even be remiss for disapproving of a projected course of action, but if a younger man does not choose to heed the advice, the matter will usually be dropped. Obviously there are men who try to make their will prevail, who are dominant and assertive. Such men may hold authority within a group of brothers and their wives, but throughout the rest of the community they are generally disliked.

The English verb, "to bone," is used by the Kaska with two different connotations. When used in the sense of exerting authority it often connotes criticism or disapproval. In its wider meaning, however, the term denotes the right and ability to order and use the services, animal, plant, or person. Usually, as we have indicated, government is conceived of as a bone in the first sense, as a meddling and bothersome authority whose sovereignty is sometimes even heeded to illegitimate. Thus Old Man complained vigorously that the government did not help the Indians. He denied governmental sovereignty over the area, and refused to the legitimate authority of a Ground Boss who would sometimes even come to repair his dwelling. No Indian admits or accepts the authority of a government to ensure his drinking. Such authority is perceived as presumptuous and autocratic. In terms of the prevailing economy of Kaska social life, it is almost inevitable that any activities of the Dominion and local governments in pursuit of their regulative functions should be resented and productive of enmity. This situation was especially aggravated during the summer of 1949, when reports reached Lower Post that a new fence had been erected around the Trainor Indian Reserve at Telegraph Creek, ten miles south of Lower Post. Although the ostensible reason for the fence was to demarcate Indian lands and prevent